20c NOVEMBER 5, 1951

The Alien Property Scandal—page 15

New Republic

CHURCHILL'S TASKS

HOW WE CAN HELP HIM TO HELP US

Are Peace Talks Possible?

The UN agenda for negotiation

Eisenhower at SHAPE

An appraisal by Capt. Liddell Hart

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

For Responsible Government

● A great deal has been said in the *NR* regarding party responsibility. I believe the underlying reason for the lack of party responsibility is an important weakness in our Constitution. True, other things such as the irreconcilable split between the Democrats and the Dixiecrats do contribute. However, a system of elections which is governed by the calendar and the alarm clock *instead of by division on issues* certainly encourages irresponsibility, fosters demagogues and invites opportunist nincompoops whose only ability is a weasel shrewdness in appealing to weaknesses and hopes, fears and hatreds.

The real issues, because they are explosive, intricate and highly debatable, are purposely avoided (consider our last Presidential elections) and synthetic ones, which may be more appealing and less difficult for those who read the comics to understand, are created: as witness the overblown "Red" scare which was peddled around the country last year.

It is true that without our biennial election system we would probably have had no Union. Indeed, during the great debate—to ratify or not to ratify the Constitution—a current phrase was, "That is where *annual* elections end and tyranny begins" (italics mine). But the system has turned on us and now, when more than ever before the true issues should be put before the people so that their voice should be heard, we are faced with popularity and smear contests. The only way out, I believe, is to amend the Constitution so that the majority party could call an election at any time Congress is sitting, but the maximum term for any Congress would be, say, four years, at which time a national election would be automatic.

DONALD C. SKONE-PALMER
No. Hollywood, Calif.

Europe, the Battleground

● Because their theme is the defense of our country, I have read and reread the four parts of this series (*NR*, Sept. 10, 17, 24, Oct. 1). Referring particularly to the last, "The New Europe Program," I fear that Mr. Straight has not sufficiently considered the strain on the economy of each of the NATO countries, including our own, especially when account is taken of the financial condition of each.

The program has a three-pronged thrust: involving (a) a large outlay in money which must come from somewhere; (b) the transfer of manpower from the manufacture of munitions; and (c) the withdrawal of manpower to military service from either kind of production. Each one of these factors enhances the other two. Furthermore, the increased demand for raw materials for munitions makes the financial strain the greater.

May it not, therefore, be true that each of the NATO countries in Europe had gone to the limit of its resources prior to General Eisenhower's "urgent appeal for redoubled arms efforts" (Mr. Straight's words)? Doubtless it is true that each of these countries could and would do better in the face of immediately threatened attack, but I understand from the reports of your excellent European correspondent (Percy Winner) that they do not feel that there is any immediate threat.
Berkeley, Calif. CHARLES B. COLLINS

Applause for Clurman

● Harold Clurman's article, "Thoughts Around Ballet" (*NR*, Oct. 15), has impressed me. That he can compress so much without sacrificing range is most moving. His observations and the sensitivity in which they are staged all read like a ballet.
Boston WILLIAM MAXWELL

The Way We Live Now

● In reply to those optimists with the rose-colored glasses focussed on "the way we live," may I suggest that they take a moment to think of the plight of the pensioner, the widow, the aged living on savings from better days and those on social security (not to mention the blind and the sick) in these days of high prices.

Even my 11-year-old has sense enough to observe that "Each time a union secures a raise for its particular group, all the rest of the people take a cut." That raise comes out of the pockets of everyone who buys that product, including the worker who got the raise. Wouldn't it be wiser and more kind of the union to strike for a reduction of the price of the product it makes so more people could buy?

Our tax burden gets heavier and heavier. Why? Because the prices the government has to pay for war material and supplies go higher and higher. Surely it isn't asking too much to have an automatic lowering of the gates on all prices at the approach of danger just as we have at a railroad crossing! When a train approaches a dangerous crossing there is no big argument among officials and citizens on whether or not it is necessary to lower the gates! So it should be in case of war or a similar emergency. It should be automatic.

It seems to me that our labor unions and our businessmen are in reality small children playing a make-believe game with materials dangerous beyond their comprehension. Shaw seems to have been right when he made the statement, "Some other planet must be using this one for an asylum."
Chicago, Ill. LOUISE Q. SUTER

Commendation for Courage

● Early last month seven persons in Hawaii, charged with plotting to conspire against the government, had bail reduced from $75,000 to $5,000 by Federal Judge Delbert E. Metzger. Much severe criticism was directed toward Judge Metzger by some officials in high government places because of his action.

I have received a letter from Judge Metzger in which he eloquently expresses his own views pertaining to this matter, and I feel sure that many of your readers would appreciate an opportunity to study his letter.

I am enclosing the letter herewith, in the hope that you will give it space in your columns. I have Judge Metzger's most gracious permission to give it to the press.
Denver, Colo. CLEMENT M. WRIGHT

[Enclosure]

Dear Mr. Wright: Nothing can be more gratifying and add more to peaceful, harmonious feeling than commendation for courage, coming from earnest, sober persons of thoughtful intelligence, during these troubled days when fear, cultured fear, seems to pervade the whole world.

I do not know how badly we are off in our relations with other nations and peoples, but I really cannot see where we are in any great danger from our own citizens, though many of them may want changes in public, economic and social policies and affairs. There is nothing new in this; I have observed it for 60 years; and I have observed that many of the changes advocated and clamored for were adopted into the preachings of political parties which prevailed at the polls, although they formerly opposed them.

To be sure, if anyone campaigns or confederates to overthrow our government by any sort of physical force or violence, that is the crime of sedition and should be charged and punished as such. I subscribe to that. However, any person so charged—and charging is easy—should be given a fair and impartial trial, not influenced by hysterical emotions which bereft reason and every sense of justice.

(*Continued on page 4*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR NOV. 5, 1951

5 Churchill's Task
An Editorial

8 The Week:

8 The Perons Campaign

8 Political Medicine

8 Who'll Pay the Check?

9 Outside America

10 Peace Talks and the United Nations, by Joseph P. Lash

12 Eisenhower and His Tasks, by Liddell Hart

14 Cold War Hits the Schools, by Harry Conn

15 The Alien Property Scandal, by Jean Begeman

17 Harold L. Ickes

18 The Documented History of Chinese Communism, by Robert Payne

19 "Requiem for a Nun," reviewed by Richard Match

20 "The Rise and Fall of Hermann Goering," reviewed by A. J. P. Taylor

20 "Russia's Soviet Economy," reviewed by Ben B. Seligman

21 Music

22 Movies

23 Found—Acheson's Courage

EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Helen Fuller
ASSISTANT EDITOR: Elizabeth Huling
REPORTERS: Jean Begeman, Arnold J. Heidenheimer
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler
DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)
COPY ASSISTANTS: Marjorie Stanley, Lucille Davis

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1951, IN THE U. S. A. BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THE FEROCITY of the social battle for invitations to receptions for Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh can hardly be overstated. Male Washington correspondents who usually aren't aware of this sort of thing have been forced into the thick of the fray—often by wives as much as by editors. The nice, young visiting couple who are the innocent cause of it all have an arduous interval of receptions, formal dinners and wreath-laying, but it is nothing to that of a Washington bureau chief whose publisher's wife has assigned him the task of getting her invitations to one of the shows so she can curtsy in a new dress and remark flutteringly, "Your Royal Highness." Unaccustomed correspondents recoil at the primitive savagery of the social battle and turn back in relief to the serenity of war-reporting and the relative politeness of political name-calling.

The Royal visit comes as the indecisive consequences of the British election are sinking in. It is silly to say that a nation "repudiated Socialism" when Labour got more votes than did the Conservatives and ran up the biggest vote of any party in history. It would probably have been better not to have held the election at all—and let Labour take responsibility for the crisis ahead—than to leave Churchill with a small majority and a parliamentary situation that seems made to order for anti-American, neutralist Aneurin Bevan. This may be an unduly pessimistic view, but still another election in a year or so now seems likely. American conservatives profess to read a joyous portent in Britain's "swing to the Right." This has its amusing side because the features of the welfare state which the so-called British "Tories" accept would crisp the hair of Messrs. Taft, Wherry and Joe Martin. The original Churchill coalition, you remember, helped invent the national health program. What US conservatives really want is a United Kingdom Government that will lower the standards of the British worker to a point where American aid will be less necessary. In the political nature of things this can't happen. Indeed the danger is that smoldering British worker discontent, kept in check by pride in a "Labour Government," and now fanned more than ever by irresponsible Bevan, will break loose.

Probably no two men are more separated, in theory at least, than aristocratic Robert Taft and Welsh coal miner Aneurin Bevan (unless, indeed it be Taft and McCarthy). But it is a key thesis of the two men in foreign affairs that while preparedness is a good thing, their respective countries can't afford it—at the rate it is going. On this particular point Taft must have a fond feeling as he gazes across the Atlantic at Bevan. He would like to chuck England if he could, while Bevan would like to chuck America.

Living costs are now at a new all-time peak and a new wage-price spiral is building up. The CIO Steel Union, at its policy board meeting, November 14, is certain to ask for more increases than the four or five cents an hour authorized under present federal formulas. If the Steelworkers ask for it, there is no reason to expect they won't ultimately get it, or that other workers will not also. Already the cost-of-living escalator clause, written into a large number of wage contracts, means no automatic wage boost for auto workers and many others. The weather on the industrial front is "Uncertain—with chance of showers."

The immediate chance of war seems to be receding, but the long-range prospect is hardly changed at all. Few Europeans seem to think war is an imminent threat. Developments in the Korean truce talks are momentarily encouraging. When the Communists first agreed to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discuss a truce it seemed to many Europeans and to top State Department officials a plain sign that the Soviet doesn't want—or at least isn't ready for—a big war now. The tortuous negotiations have gone on, and a new landmark is now set: Communist delegates in the white circus tent at Panmunjom have finally dropped talk of the 38th Parallel as the boundary line. This is a big advance.Chinese Communists are manufacturing a "victory" celebration for home consumption, too, something relatively easy for a dictatorship to do at any time. This may be a screen for more Communist concessions.

Any record of major news would have to put in the brief announcement of Brien McMahon, chairman of the Congressional Joint Atomic Energy Committee, that we now know how to turn big ones into little ones: any nation with a stock of large A-bombs, he said, can multiply those into a lot of little bombs. The McMahon statement confirms what has already been generally understood, that now it is only a matter of a relatively short time before we have small-package atomic explosives.

News on the political front is that Taft is inching away from McCarthy and that the Taft steam-roller is rumbling hard and efficiently, while the Eisenhower jeep has hardly got started with too many drivers fumbling at the wheel.

Notes: The anti-Truman Southern Democratic rally scheduled for Selma, Ala., November 1, ran into trouble when some of the top official Truman-haters wouldn't come; they didn't like the frontal attack method. . . . The US power lobby that blocked the St. Lawrence Seaway for 30 years is headed for defeat at last as Canada moves to build the project herself; she can probably get all the private US money she needs. . . . Mark down a tragic defeat for civil rights: Senator McCarran finally forced Truman to give up his fight for a non-partisan Loyalty Review Commission under Admiral Nimitz to guard the citizens' interest; McCarran's Judiciary Committee blocked its appointment for 10 months.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

I thank you for your kindly letter, which is but one of dozens of similar letters I have received from many sources.

DELBERT E. METZGER
US District Court, District of Hawaii, Honolulu

Big Farm Bureau Smear

● May I compliment you on the article in your October 15 issue on "The Farm Bureaus Big Smear," by Jean Begeman. It was really a bull's-eye!

I live in one of the greatest agricultural counties in the United States, and I am very proud of it, have been a Farm Bureau member (my Dad was one of the organizers of the Farm Bureaus in several counties in Iowa) and think that organization has done a lot of good things. However, they have missed the boat entirely when they attack the Family Farm Policy Review!

I know, from personal observation, that the Farm Bureau representatives in this county (Calhoun) followed the dictates of Allan Kline and Roger Fleming in "smearing" the efforts of the committee conducting the Family Farm Policy review meeting here.

More power to you!

Rockwell City, Iowa MARY H. MORTON

Modern Poetry

● As a remedy to be administered to those who retch at the thought of "modern" poetry, I suggest two easy courses.

(a) Read with care Oscar Williams' *A Little Treasury of Modern Poetry*, perusal of which is guaranteed to remove in large measure the most violent allergy; (b) for a time forget *The Waste Land* and *Paterson*, and instead concentrate on less difficult but extremely effective poems like Mr. Eliot's "A Cooking Egg"—what we Americans call a Grade-B egg—or Archibald MacLeish's "Quite unexpectedly as Vasserot, the armless ambidexterian," which is considered to be one of the most powerful sonnets of our time.

Even these simple but great examples of contemporary poetry will, like all other art, involve some readers in difficulties: it will be necessary to identify Sir Philip Sidney, Coriolanua, Madame Blavatsky, the chain of London restaurants known as the A. B. C.'s, and to realize that Mr. MacLeish, in describing the circus, intends to show the efforts of the performers as ridiculous and inconsequential as contrasted with the significance of the cosmic reality which the destruction of the big top makes manifest to the spectators. These poems and dozens of others are, I am certain, so direct and powerful as to win even the most determined dissenter.

Readers need to be patient; they need to take the easy steps which are a preparation; they must give the artist a chance. Perhaps the learner's way is too much for the lush who find "room for blank verse" even though "it comes from the lazy drowziness of a possibly great poet," like, for instance, Shakespeare or Milton or Dryden.

Salisbury, Conn. JOHN MCCHESNEY

● Mr. Carter of the University of Arkansas explains the verse oddities of Dr.W.C. Williams (*NR*, Oct. 8), and inadvertently he proves my very point. I said, if the thing be written in prose, nobody could guess how to write it as verse. Mr. Carter quotes Dr. Williams as writing "they go round/and around," and he very learnedly explained and justified that. But Dr. Williams didn't write that; he wrote "round and/around"; so Mr. Carter proves Dr. Williams wrong—or himself: Q.E.D.

Corona, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR

Government by Pressure

● Max Biser's letter on government by pressure (*NR*, Oct. 8) was worth a year's subscription to the *New Republic*. I have hardly been able to do anything else serious since for thinking about his luminous statements, such as that a democracy committed to this "false and dangerous premise [that rule by the forces from pressure groups is necessary and right] is bound sooner or later to succumb to an overwhelming force."

In thus reviving the classic point of dispute between Socrates and Thrasymachus—whether justice be the interest of the stronger—and applying it to pressure practices in government, Mr. Biser sets us to thinking once again in terms of *principles* of social justice and about the hidden menace to democracy in the use of new names for old practices—about how easily we are lulled to sleep by the opiate of deception in such words as "lobbying" or "pressure," which express in effect the opinion that justice really *is* the interest of the stronger.

Port Angeles, Wash. CONNER REED

Cardozo

● I am writing a Ph.D. thesis on the late Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo and should appreciate a chance to see letters from, or material about, him. My address is 41 Lincoln Avenue, Highland Park, N. J.

Highland Park, N. J. DAVID MARS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 125, NUMBER 19, ISSUE 1927, WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 5, 1951

New Republic

CHURCHILL'S TASK

WINSTON CHURCHILL is once again Prime Minister of Great Britain. We suspect that he could be elected President of the United States. It is not for us to rejoice or to weep at the downfall of the Labour Party. It is to help free Churchill to act on a world scale, so that his bold imagination and incomparable prestige can serve world peace as in the days of the Grand Alliance.

In those days Churchill and Roosevelt led the free nations. Together they established a working union of Britain and the United States. Every phase of our combined effort was jointly managed then. Every major decision was jointly arrived at, as the Hopkins papers and Churchill's own memoirs show. The tragic failure was that this partnership was personal, to two great and congenial men. They did not prepare their peoples to perpetuate the unity they achieved. When the war's end coincided with Roosevelt's death and Churchill's defeat, Britain ceased to be an equal partner and fell in line among the queue of nations petitioning an independent and critical US for aid.

In the days of Roosevelt and Churchill, world policies were made in the White House and at 10 Downing Street by two men with the highest degree of mutual respect. In contrast, Attlee and Truman lacked the self-confidence in foreign affairs to develop a similar relationship. So policy-making reverted to the State Department and the Foreign Office whose traditional, institutionalized approaches prohibited a partnership that was vital and alive. America fell into the illusion of unlimited sovereignty; Britain into the illusion of Socialist self-sufficiency. We lacked the skill, Britain lacked the resources, to provide in separation the leadership we provided together.

In separation, both nations were befuddled by isolationism, the nagging, unconstructive isolationism that soiled the pages of Socialist papers like the *New Statesman* and of our press. British Socialists feared that partnership with capitalistic America could jeopardize their autarchic schemes. American tories feared the contagion of the welfare state. Labourites won votes by harping on the unreliability of an independent US. Republicans seized on Labour's inability to solve Britain's problems as a stick to belabor the Fair Deal. So the weaknesses caused by separation were exploited to drive the United States and Great Britain much further apart.

Despite these irritants, both peoples have recognized their dependence on each other. In recent months, the false tensions of conflicting ideologies have lessened. In the heat of election, Labour candidates tried to make use of anti-American sentiment and to corner the hopes of Britons for peace in a way that was illegitimate, since Labour could not guarantee peace and the Tories did not countenance war. Churchill stood fast on Anglo-American partnership. To that extent his victory is a gain and permits more rapid progress toward union.

But this gain will be more than offset if Churchill becomes the prisoner of a deepening economic crisis.

The Conservatives, in opposition, supported Labour's foreign policy. The responsible leaders of Labour, for whose achievements in government the free world stands in debt, will certainly try to support in opposition the programs which they initiated. But they may well have lost control of their party. If living standards fall in Britain, political tensions must rise. The trade unions, which acted with great restraint while their comrades ruled in Whitehall, must press wage claims and threaten strike action. And pressed by the dynamics of opposition, the gifts of Aneurin Bevan and the slim margin of the Conservative majority, the Labour Party may reverse itself on Britain's foreign policy and obstruct necessary developments in Anglo-American co-operation.

There are many aspects in American politics today which British Socialists cannot and should not stomach. They are, we believe, superficial irritations, which will diminish if a positive and dynamic program of Anglo-American unity gives reasonable people a rational hope. Without this hope, intolerance and extremism may flourish in both parties and do great damage. All this means that the full restoration of the Anglo-American partnership should follow hard on Churchill's victory if both are not to turn sour.

The first great problem to be overcome by combined action is Britain's economic crisis. It is a crisis of inflation, intensified by rearmament and by Labour's obsessive fear of unemployment. But its origins can be traced as clearly to the decline of enterprise among the businessmen who staff the Conservative Party, as to Labour's inflationary bias. As Colin Clark wrote recently:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not merely the British Government but virtually the whole British people, its major parties and its press, has allowed itself to cherish three economic illusions—each taken singly is extremely serious, and the three in combination are fatal. They are Cheap Food, Limitless Taxable Capacity, and Rapidly Increasing Productivity.

Cheap food was maintained under Labour by subsidies. These subsidies, costing $1.5 billion each year, have become unmanageable as the terms on which Britain exchanges her exports of industrial products, for her imports of food and raw materials have turned against her. The shift is certain to continue as the world's population outstrips its food supplies and the food and raw-material producing areas, cut loose from imperial control, trade on their own terms. Britain must eliminate her food subsidies, according to the *Economist*, or raise taxes by another $1.2 billion next year.

And Britain cannot raise taxation further. As early as 1944, Clark argued, and Keynes agreed, that 25 percent of the national income was the outer limit which taxation should be allowed to reach. Up to that limit, Clark maintained, taxes countered inflation by curbing purchasing power. Beyond that limit, taxation intensified inflation by destroying all incentives to work harder, to raise productivity and to produce more. Yet in no postwar year did taxes in Britain fall below 40 percent of the national income. They represent 47 percent of Britain's income today. Clark concludes:

> The inflationary forces which this excessive taxation let loose have been held in check by the force of public opinion, by vigorous controls and by favorable external trading conditions. These temporary barriers will shortly all be swept away, and Britain will have to face the full consequence of the attempt to impose taxation at the rate of 40 percent of national income, to which proposal no serious opposition came from any political party.

Rapidly increasing productivity is the third illusion noted by Clark. Raising productivity is one long-term solution. But productivity is not rising rapidly enough at present, as officials had hoped it would, to offset Britain's worsening terms of trade. Productivity in Britain, according to Clark, has risen only five percent above prewar levels.

The immediate impact of inflation in Britain is the loss of gold and foreign-exchange reserves, the life-blood of the sterling area. In the third quarter of this year, Britain's reserves fell by $600 million to $3.2 billion, wiping out the hard-won gains achieved since devaluation. Losses are unlikely to continue at this rate, but by next autumn Britain's reserves may be approaching the $2 billion mark, below which they cannot be allowed to fall. Six months before then, Churchill will have to take some decisive step to arrest the decline.

One factor in this deepening crisis is Britain's shortage of coal. If Churchill can dramatize the issue as he did in wartime, he may be able to cut down absenteeism in the coal mines which keeps 83,000 British miners idle on a given working day. But raising productivity, while it will help, cannot provide a solution.

With considerable courage, Britain's Labour Government set out on a major rearmament program and held to it despite Bevan's resignation. Whether or not Bevan was right in asserting the program was too large, it has shrunk already due to rising prices. Labour leaders refused to cut it further. They established for Britain a harsh list of priorities in which the defense program came first, followed in turn by the export drive, the capital-investment program and, last, the maintenance of civilian standards. The Labour Government declared simply that if Britain's reserves fell to a minimum level, the drive to increase exports would have to replace rearmament as the top priority.

It is not easy for Britain to increase exports. Her capital-investment program has been starved for 10 years, while factories and equipment age. Civilian consumption in Britain remains close to minimum levels. This year, for example, 80,000 cars were sold to British citizens; that is one-twentieth as many per citizen as were sold in the United States.

Nor can government expenditures on major programs of health, welfare and education be further reduced. And if expenditures on transfers of wealth, such as the food and rent subsidies, are cut, prices will rise sharply and the pressure for wage increases will mount.

Even with a majority of 80 or more, it would have been hard for the Conservatives to resist the pressures of housewives and workers which could lead to further devaluation and rapid inflation. With the slim majority that Churchill holds, action to reduce the subsidies and to hold the line on wages becomes almost impossible in the absence of US aid. Without aid the construction of a realistic budget next year is a task beyond Churchill's present power. A cutback in British rearmament becomes almost inevitable, and that, General Eisenhower has stated, would be a gamble with world peace.

For this reason, the restoration of the partnership means, in the first instance, generous US aid. Hugh Gaitskell, on his recent trip to Washington, asked the US simply to provide some weapons for British soldiers, to make steel available through allocations for British purchasers, and to regularize US purchases of raw materials to prevent the wild swings in material prices that upset the sterling area. None of these steps is enough,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and further discussions were barred during Gaitskell's visit by the wooden mentality of Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder. The issue should be reopened right away.

By now it is clear that the favorable trends of 1950 which led to the suspension of ECA aid for Britain were superficial and temporary. As in the case of UNRRA, ECA aid for Britain was cut off too soon. Neither military nor economic aid can be taken out of the present mutual security appropriations since these have already been slashed and represent programs already scheduled in Europe. Further economic aid must be granted Britain next year to prevent a run on sterling as reserves waste away. The grant should be proposed no later than in the President's January State of the Union message. For political reasons alone, Republicans should support this aid. The need, and the positive advantages for both nations, should be dramatized by Churchill in a visit to Washington when Congress reconvenes.

The appeal of the partnership for economy-minded Americans and weary and divided Britons rests on its ability to indicate a new program for peace. Basic in that program, we believe, are two bold, Churchillian strokes: first, to carry through European federation; second, to start new negotiations on atomic-energy control with the USSR.

On European federation, the Labour Government was always hesitant and weak. It clung to traditional British policy of resisting the consolidation of continental Europe. This policy was designed to prevent Germany's domination of Europe and to maintain Britain's role in the balance of European power. Labour and the Foreign Office refused to recognize that this policy became obsolete and wrong when the survival of a weakened Europe demanded federation and when the key problem became to prevent the advance of Russian-controlled Communism to the British Channel.

In contrast, Churchill, in opposition, was the founder and chief spokesman of the European movement. Now he returns to power at a critical moment. The organizers of the European army have recognized that a central authority, raising and controlling its own finances, is vital. Robert Schuman, France's Foreign Minister, has declared that at the next session of the European Assembly France will demand a political federation for Europe. Belgium and Italy will support the French proposal. Germany is likely to resist it. Enthusiastic backing by Britain and America is desperately needed. Eisenhower is for it; Truman and Churchill should join in carrying it through. Then the North Atlantic Treaty Organization can be recognized as a realistic, tripartite alliance.

Lastly, Churchill takes power at a time when negotiations with Russia seem again to be just over the horizon. Churchill can give to these negotiations the confidence and daring that the West has lacked since the days when he and Roosevelt pursued their grand design.

Atomic energy control is the central issue and the easiest to negotiate. *"As our case is new, we must think anew and act anew."*

The Baruch plan is dead. It was based on a monopoly of atomic weapons that we no longer possess. Each new atomic explosion in Russia is further proof that she is on the high road of production. A new plan is needed.

Any new plan for control of atomic weapons must be coupled with proposals for the reduction of conventional armaments. For the sole reason that atomic bombardment is the only military deterrent we hold today to check Soviet aggression, the Western nations cannot disarm in the field of atomic weapons alone.

Until now the Western position has been that an agreement to control weapons of mass destruction is impossible because the Russians refuse to permit effective inspection. There is no conclusive evidence that this is true. We believe that, if agreement is reached on the purposes of inspection, its technical details can be worked out without a transfer of more sovereignty than the Russians are willing to surrender.

The purpose of inspection, we assume, is to reduce, and if possible to prevent, the further production of atomic bombs and other weapons. This raises the problem, academic when the Baruch plan was formulated, of what to do about existing stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. Obviously, these stockpiles cannot be destroyed tomorrow. Perhaps they can be placed under UN guardianship, to be reduced on a time-table and released in case of aggression which the UN resists.

To further deter aggression, a non-aggression pact has psychological and political value. The Five-Power Pact proposed by the Russians is meaningless in its present form. A pact that established a reduction of conventional armaments would be highly desirable.

These ideas are, of course, general and tentative. The cloak of secrecy has spread so wide that citizens are at a disadvantage in formulating intelligent proposals. But these proposals must be formulated. We suggest that, in place of the Lilienthal-Oppenheimer Commission of 1946, Truman and Churchill create a Joint Commission of British and American scientists and political experts to prepare a new plan for the control of atomic energy for the West.

If, now, the partnership of America and its closest ally can be recreated on an open and equal basis, and if it can advance on the lines set forth here, then Churchill may add one more triumphant chapter to a great career.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

THE PERONS CAMPAIGN

Argentina these days is also awaiting an election. With his charming wife Eva now only informally attached to the ticket, President Juan Peron is touring the countryside with his favorite whipping-boy, "the imperialist Yankee," to make sure that Justicialism is not thrown by the wayside at the November 11 elections. His success now seems so assured that the Peronista-dominated Congress has already agreed to let him take a six-month vacation until just before inauguration time next May.

Peron has been using the recent ill-fated "revolution" against him as a take-off for an all-out attack on US interference in Argentine affairs. In the first of a series of radio "lectures," Peron charged that the origin of the revolution dated "back to 1945 when Spruille Braden, the ambassador of the United States . . . barefacedly meddled in the domestic affairs of our country."

Peron's scientific status has suffered somewhat from the collapse of his atomic bubble. But the government propaganda mills have been trying to cover up this blunder. The development of a new 130-octane synthetic aviation gasoline is being cited as proof that "Argentines have know-how to rise to the level of the best." And the director of the University of La Plata Observatory, which recently discovered a new planet, has announced that this body will be christened "Justicialista."

With nationalism keyed to a fever pitch, the Peronistas are confident of victory. Their candidate for vice-president is the present incumbent, Hortensio Quigano, an elderly politician who quit the bourgeois Radicals in 1945 for Peron's banner.

POLITICAL MEDICINE

The Federal Security Agency's *Public Health Report* recently revealed that from 20 to 30 percent of the hospital beds available for tubercular patients are not now in use because of the severe shortage of doctors and nurses. Although tuberculosis is still seventh on the list of causes of death in the United States and there is plenty of room in the hospitals, patients are being turned away because of inadequate staffs. Of a total of 24,300 beds in 93 hospitals, the FSA report showed that more than 5,200 were not in use.

Skilled nursing care is one of the services essential to the recovery of the patient with TB, which still kills more than 40,000 Americans each year. The Public Health Service estimates that "there are probably a half-million Americans who have tuberculosis and require medical and public-health supervision."

In the face of these facts, Congress shelved a bill that would have given federal aid to medical, dental and nursing schools to alleviate the shortage. Much of the blame for the last-minute defeat of the measure can be traced to Presidential candidate Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio), who reneged as sponsor of the bill. Last March, Taft told the Senate, "I advocated the passage of this bill in nearly every speech I made in Ohio in the last election." Eight months later he led the opposition when the bill came up for a vote in the Senate. The significance of this reversal in his position was clear when, a few days later, letters from the American Medical Association's chairman, Harry M. Hedge, of the "Medical Committee of the Draft Taft Clubs of America," were sent to physicians across the country. The letter read, in part:

> The Presidential election of 1952 is of grave importance to you, to your patients and to those who are dear to you. . . . We believe your interest will be best served by the nomination and election of Robert A. Taft. . . . He has consistently opposed the Administration's efforts to develop a nationwide compulsory sickness and hospitalization plan for our country.

The letter ended with an urgent plea for a "minimum" contribution of $10 and attached was a statement by Mr. Republican himself, declaring that "our free system of private medicine has produced the best doctors in the world, and there are more of them per unit of population than in any other country."

WHO'LL PAY THE CHECK?

AUSTIN, TEX. (NR corresp.)

Houstonians were still wondering last week whether they, as taxpayers, or their hometown oil millionaires were going to pay for Gen. Douglas MacArthur's visit to Texas last June.

At the time of all the hullabaloo over the General's flying tour of five Texas cities, it was generally assumed that oilmen Glenn McCarthy or H. R. Cullen, or both, were going to pay the General's expenses. Both men vied mightily for the honor of being credited with getting MacArthur to come to Texas. However, four months after the General's tour it developed that nobody had picked up the check. McCarthy broke the news by asking the Houston City Council for some help in taking care of the $8,510.55 bill, including $5,000 for the Eastern Airlines' Constellation which toted the General around the state. McCarthy said he had let the General stay at his swank Shamrock Hotel in Houston free of charge and seemed to think that he had done his share with that gesture.

"We didn't even add up how much the General's stay at the hotel cost," McCarthy declared. "We marked it zero."

San Antonio, Dallas and Fort Worth decided such an expenditure would be illegal.

After the entire business was bandied around for a week (McCarthy even received a check for $1.93 raised by the auction of a jar of blackeyed peas in East Texas), the bill finally was paid: McCarthy kicked in $2,500, an unnamed donor gave $1,000, and Cullen took care of the $5,000 fee for the Constellation. That left the City of Houston still holding the $2,500 it had voted but had not yet paid.

(Continued on page 23)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Outside America

NEUTRALISM AGAIN

Another European winter of discontent is beginning. But the gloomy state of mind of large numbers of ordinary people in France, Italy, England and elsewhere in Western Europe remains not very different from what it was at the start of previous winters since the war, for a reason that transcends the chronic pessimism.

Europeans have been working harder, producing more, and letting themselves hope more during the last year. Yet in the seventh autumn since the end of hostilities, prices are cutting deeper into a lean standard of living, strikes are getting under way in an atmosphere of ugly recrimination, the progress made in social betterment is endangered by the steady advance of the political Right, and in the absence of enough coal for home use at prices which ordinary people can pay, the advent of cold weather is a greater worry than the Cold War. But all this—and more of the same—is not more depressing than the widespread belief that the gap between European and American concepts of Europe's security problem is once more widening.

The difference between the two was made explicit recently in the minor controversy between President Truman and John Cowles of *Look*. The President reaffirmed the doctrine that military force was the key. The publisher, returning from a swing around the world, reported a general anxiety lest the United States might "blunder" into or "precipitate" war. He said—and in a manner which suggested his agreement with these views:

> Much of the world thinks that the United States has only one idea, that of confining Russian Communism by military might. . . . Many Europeans and Asians say we keep pressing for arms and more arms although every armament race in history has resulted in war. . . . Some believe that the whole world, including the United States, would be better off if we moderated the speed and size of our rearmament program.

Another version is offered by Alistair Cooke in the Manchester *Guardian*:

> The difference between the way Washington thinks and the way London and Paris think is also one between GHQ and the man in the trenches grumbling about the heavy rains and the soggy food. "Morale" in Washington is something to be developed through the laboratory testing of jet pilots in oxygen chambers. In Europe it is the preventive brace of steady work, a warm and well-lit home, the guarantee of calories, a state of humble content in which the Communists cannot win the war before it starts.

Many Americans entirely agree, of course. But the fact that Western Europeans do not know and have not the means of finding out the large measure of popular American support for such reservations and warnings as Cowles's is an important element in this autumn's gloom and bitterness. Naturally, the Voice of America cannot criticize the President, Congress, the Pentagon; nor can it or any other official agency make itself the vehicle of American doubts concerning the wisdom of the subordination of the social and economic to the ultra-military in the European security pattern.

If Europeans are to find out about the true state of American public opinion, they must do so from their own newspapers. And they cannot, because most of the world's supply of newsprint is gobbled up in the United States, sending the prices of the remaining supply shooting up beyond the reach of European newspapers operated on small profit margins. The whole of the French press —every single newspaper in the third most important country of the Atlantic Community—uses less newsprint in a year than a single newspaper in the US. That newspaper happens to be the New York *Daily News*, scarcely a champion of the effective removal of the gap between Europe and American conceptions of Europe's security.

Naturally, the cost and lack of newsprint are reflected in rising prices. On the first of October, the prices of all Parisian newspapers were increased. The Paris edition of the New York *Herald Tribune* went from 20 to 30 francs (with the official exchange rate 350 francs to the dollar, but the comparable value of the money making the cost higher than the American equivalent). For the 30 francs, Frenchmen who read English got six pages, including advertisements. It is true that, on the same day, they could still get for 25 francs the 18 pages of the European Edition of the New York *Times;* but only a small fraction of the Frenchmen for whom this is the start of another winter of discontent could (or would) read an American publication.

It would help improve the psychological situation in Western Europe this winter if people had a chance to learn that many Americans really sympathized with and still worked for a kind of European security consonant with the human possibilities. No matter which political party governs Britain or France, however, the real need this winter is for Americans to get from their fat and full newspapers the awareness that neither Hugh Gaitskell of England nor René Mayer of France was exaggerating, in warning against the danger of imposing an arms-fast-and-all-the-way conception of security on the European social structures and economies. Already the so-called governments of both France and Italy are in effect false façades, corresponding neither to the will of the people nor to the ambitions of powerful groups awaiting a chance to constrain the forces of discontent.

The strikes will not bring anything like rebellion this winter, nor will changes of government destroy or even seriously impair the forms of democracy. But the gap between European and American conceptions, if it widens, will also widen the gulf between peoples and governments in Western Europe. And, in the last analysis, as Lt. Gen. Sir Brian Horrocks points out, "The next war—if it comes—will be won or lost by the reserve forces of the NATO countries." Psychologically, those reserve forces are the peoples themselves.

Paris PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PEACE TALKS AND THE UNITED NATIONS

by Joseph P. Lash

THE SIXTH General Assembly of the United Nations is about to convene in Paris. It meets at a time when talk of new negotiations between Russia and the Western nations is in the air. If these talks develop, they will grow out of the conditions that are set at the UN. There seems to be a will to discuss broad issues. But whether this Assembly or the UN will be able to change world trends away from war and toward peace will depend in the first instance on the fate of the Korean armistice talks. The conclusion of a truce in Korea would make it possible to discuss constructively other problems stemming from the Cold War; a third breakdown in the talks would bring the world perilously close to a third world war.

The United States has indicated that in the event the armistice talks are not brought to a prompt conclusion, it will press in the Assembly for more troops, more material support and tougher sanctions. It has not said that it will seek authorization to bomb bases in Manchuria, to use atomic weapons, or to establish a naval blockade; but UN diplomats are resigned to seeing those things happen in the event of another winter campaign.

And since the Communists must be presumed to be equally aware of what is in prospect if the truce talks fail, and must be presumed to be ready to give blow for blow, it would be foolhardy to speculate on where the world, under such circumstances, might find itself by the time the Assembly is due to end, early next year.

Even if the Panmunjom talks move out of a three-month impasse, few observers at the United Nations are willing to predict that the way will then have been paved for a general settlement which the Assembly may usher in. Almost every previous Assembly has opened with solemn pronouncements that this was *the* fateful session at which, since the alternative of a drift toward war seemed so terrifying, there would have to be a *détente*. This year there are few optimistic predictions. Secretary-General Trygve Lie, in the most pessimistic of his annual reports, has even warned: "The bitter conflicts and historic upheavals of our times may prove too great a strain for a world structure that is still in the early stages of development."

However, the possibilities of a *détente* should not be completely excluded. As the Assembly reconvenes, the Free World is on the threshold of that "situation of strength" which Secretary of State Dean Acheson has long maintained was the only basis for bargaining with the Kremlin: American rearmament is hitting full stride; the NATO is moving out of its infant stages; the Japanese treaty and Western Big-Three agreements on Germany have opened up the way for the rearmament of those two powers.

It is this background of swiftly growing power in the Free World that gives meaning to the September bid of the Big Three to the USSR for new talks in Paris, a bid that was recently renewed in the course of the Kirk-Vishinsky exchange of notes.

If the Russians should be prepared finally at Paris to move from propaganda and maneuver to genuine negotiation, the following are the major political issues on the Assembly's agenda whose disposition would be critically affected by Big-Four agreement.

Korea. An armistice in Korea would leave the Assembly with the problem of a permanent political settlement. Nominally the UN is committed to the establishment of a free and unified Korea, but it is highly unlikely that the Communists will agree to a UN-supervised plebiscite throughout Korea. Even before the Communist aggression, South Korea's population was almost twice that of North Korea, and in the course of the war half of North Korea's population has taken refuge south of the 38th Parallel. The Communists have noted that silent plebiscite and will undoubtedly resist elections which would jeopardize their remaining control. A democratic, united Korea, therefore, will continue to be a long-range UN objective.

The Far East. The United States last winter refused to consider Peking's seat in the UN or the ultimate disposition of Formosa so long as Peking's soldiers were shooting at UN troops. The State Department has now indicated that even if there should be an early Korean armistice we would still regard discussion of these issues as premature at this session of the Assembly. However, this is the kind of decision that we would find difficult to stick to if the Russians come into the Assembly with genuinely conciliatory proposals.

Germany. For the first time in UN history the German question may figure on its agenda. The high commissioners of the Western Big Three have notified West Germany's Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, that they will support his request for the creation of a UN investigatory commission to go into the Soviet and Western Zones of Germany to survey the possibility of holding nationwide free elections.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This is the West's answer to the latest Communist proposal on German reunification. The Soviet Government has revived this issue every time the Western powers have overcome their own disagreements on the rearming of Germany and entered into concrete negotiations with Bonn on a German contribution to European defense.

Promptly following the Washington talks on this issue last September, the Russians, through East German Premier Grotewohl, proposed that there be all-German free elections to a constituent assembly. And absent this time was the usual joker that East and West Germany have parity in the number of representatives elected to such an assembly. Since the West has twice the population of the Soviet Zone, genuinely free elections without the parity formula would be tantamount to the Communists permitting their German satellite to be absorbed by the Federal Republic.

That is why the Allied high commissioners and Bonn plan to test out Soviet intentions with a proposal for a UN commission to investigate the possibility of holding free elections.

There is ample UN precedent for such a proposal. When in 1947 American-Soviet negotiations for the unification of Korea bogged down, the US submitted the problem to the UN. Although the USSR maintained that the UN had no business discussing questions connected with the conclusion of the peace treaties, it did not boycott Assembly consideration of the matter and actually submitted proposals of its own. It should be added, however, that it never permitted the commission which the Assembly set up to supervise all-Korean elections to enter North Korea.

Atomic Energy and Disarmament. The Assembly will have before it a recommendation from a Committee of Twelve to merge the UN's Commissions on Conventional Armaments and Atomic Energy. The Russians are on record against this merger proposal because its terms of reference reaffirm UN support of the Baruch plan for the international control of atomic weapons. This plan, certainly, was written in another world in which the US held a monopoly of atomic weapons. But the American position is that it will stick with the Baruch-United Nations plan until someone comes along with a better one, and no new constructive thinking is going on.

The real stumbling block to any disarmament effort is Soviet opposition to a genuine inspection system as an infringement on national sovereignty. Russian experts in this country doubt that the Kremlin can agree to a foolproof inspection system without a revolutionary opening up of their whole society.

Collective Measures. These are the concern of the committee established under the Acheson "Uniting for Peace" resolution to prepare recommendations on the creation of a collective-security system capable of coping with future aggression. The committee's report consists largely of an inventory of the political, economic and military techniques and sanctions available to the UN and member states for use against a potential aggressor. Its proposals on how an executive military authority responsible for the conduct of UN military operations should be set up are patterned on the Korean experience.

Hopes that the UN might soon have at its disposal an anti-aggression force, even a UN Legion, are belied by the report. The tabulated replies received to date by the Collective Measures Committee to its request that member governments earmark forces and resources for use by the UN in the event of an aggression are quite disappointing. This disappointment is reflected in Lie's report: "I think it important," he observes, "that the governments of members should express more clearly and explicitly the commitment—subject of course to their respective constitutional processes and to the obligations of self-defense—of their foreign policy, their armed forces and their economic power to this developing worldwide system of collective security."

The Soviet bloc has taken no part whatsoever in the work of the Collective Measures Committee and regards all of the developments under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, with its provisions for by-passing the Security Council and the veto, as crude violations of the UN Charter. They are expected to unlimber their biggest guns against the "Uniting for Peace" approach and to counter with proposals for a return to the Big-Power unanimity concept of the United Nations. This will take the concrete form of a new bid for a Five-Year Peace Pact for which the Cominform has been assiduously collecting millions of signatures.

Unless, however, the bid for such a pact is accompanied by threats to withdraw from the United Nations, it is not expected to be taken seriously.

A multitude of other problems are on the agenda of the world gathering—the tensions of the Middle East in the form of renewed efforts to get the Arab countries to conclude peace with Israel, and Arab complaints against France for alleged violations of UN principles in Morocco, the financing of economic development of underdeveloped countries, technical assistance and human rights.

In each of these areas the United Nations can claim modest achievements; in each of them the chances of a real step forward depend on the lowering of East-West tensions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EISENHOWER AND HIS TASK

by Liddell Hart

THE GROWING threat of a third world war led, early this year, to the creation of SHAPE—Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers, Europe—under General Eisenhower. The word-forming initials were very expressive of its origin and purpose. For SHAPE developed out of the Western countries' desire to give a more definite form to their mutual defense arrangements.

Eisenhower's previous command, SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force), differed much from his present one in purpose and pattern, as well as in scale. It was a wartime creation formed to direct offensive operations, launched from overseas, for the liberation of an already conquered Western Europe. SHAPE is a peacetime creation. Its aim is prevention, not liberation. It does not mean planning for what is called a "preventive war," but planning to prevent an invader gaining initial success. That may avert war.

While the purpose of SHAPE ought to be less difficult than that of SHAEF, its pattern has more complications. SHAEF was mainly a combined American and British organ, with a subsidiary French element and a sprinkling of other nationalities. SHAPE has to deal with a larger collection of countries.

American aid is playing a great part in this restorative action, but Eisenhower's aim is to develop a team effort rather than impose a dictatorial line or American pattern. He does his utmost to emphasize this idea, and so do his chief assistants. The hindrances to its fulfillment have been a matter of material rather than of spirit. The generous provision of equipment and personnel from the US compared with what has come from other quarters inevitably tended to put SHAPE "off balance" in appearance, if not in reality.

The composition of SHAPE is worth giving in detail. Out of just over 200 officers, 50 percent are American; 18 percent, British; 15 percent, French; 5 percent, Italian; and the remaining 12 percent made up of Belgian, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian and Canadian officers. The other military personnel and civil personnel amount to just under 200, and nearly two-thirds are American.

Although Eisenhower's Chief of Staff is American, his two deputies are British and French, while of the five Assistant Chiefs of Staff only one is American. The staff has been well picked and also well sorted, with a view to the attainment of Eisenhower's aim of real integration. In their offices one is rarely conscious of an American predominance and soon convinced that a truly international team is developing with a common outlook.

The current is generated from the top—from Eisenhower and his Chief of Staff, Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, who runs the organizations under "Ike's" broad direction. They are a finely blended pair, and that makes for harmony on the levels below.

Not only is Eisenhower's name a "household word" in Europe, but he himself has come to be regarded as a "household friend." The effect of his appointment last winter was like that of switching on an electric heater in a chilly room. Never has any appointment been more widely and strongly welcomed. It aroused criticism only in Germany, and even there feeling changed as soon as he went there and made personal contact.

That is easy to understand. When he talks you feel the warmth coming from him—and it feels warm enough to thaw even the stiffest Prussians. His face is very mobile, and though often changing expression as different thoughts come to him, it never looks tricky. He is spontaneous and transparently honest, without any trace of pose such as most prominent men acquire.

In conversation he is apt to talk fast, while frequently using some homely or slangy turn of phrase to rub in his point. But for all his homeliness he retains an inherent dignity. Perhaps that is why, although not really tall, he seems tall. He certainly does not "stand on his dignity"—and no man has less need to do so.

When I met Eisenhower this summer, it was in the middle of a very exhausting week, when VIPs had been flying to Paris from all quarters to thrash out problems with him. Knowing this, I was all the more struck by his freshness and vigor. Many of the men who are grappling with world problems today seem harassed and weary, with their minds spinning round in circles as if "punch-drunk." But Eisenhower has ripened. When head of SHAEF in the war, he tended to take the simple, soldierly view of victory as an end in itself without regard to what might follow. But now he evidently realizes the importance of relating strategy to policy, the lower level to the higher. In our talk he dwelt on the need for a new education for high command, and in developing that theme showed how he was growing from a soldier into a statesman.

Capt. Liddell Hart, well-known British military expert, served in the First World War and has been military writer and editor for several newspapers and the Encyclopedia Britannica. He is the author of nearly 30 books, most of them in the fields of tactics and strategy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When discussing his task at SHAPE he dwelt on the progress made in getting officers of different nationalities to think and feel as members of a family, to develop a higher and wider patriotism. It is interesting that Eisenhower and Gruenther themselves are of German origin. It would be hard to find better "Europeans" than these two German-Americans.

Gruenther made his mark in the war as Chief of Staff to Gen. Mark Clark in Italy. Outside of military circles his name is not widely known—but I would have no hesitation in betting that it will be in the future. He is young for his high rank, and looks even younger than he is, although he is a tremendous worker. It is one more proof of "Ike's" good judgment that he chose for his chief assistant in this delicate job a man not only of great efficiency as an organizer but with a human touch and charm. Gruenther has a clear understanding of political factors and a wide outlook.

On the next levels of SHAPE, too, the need for harmonious personalities seems to have been successfully combined with the choice of able minds. The post of Deputy Chief of Staff (Plans) is filled by Air Vice-Marshal E. C. Hudleston, who is only 42. I have not often met an airman who so clearly grasps land-war problems as well as air-war problems.

The other Deputy Chief of Staff is a Frenchman, Gen. Marcel Carpentier, and deals with the administrative side—the material means to fulfill the plans. From all that I learned in numerous discussions during my tour, it is evident that this job is proving very tough.

Besides the propeller-shaft and driving-axles of the machine, mention must be made of what may be described as the braking system that is attached on the Deputy Chiefs of Staff level. It is the group of National Military Representatives, whose task it is to present the views of their particular nations. There is nothing derogatory in my way of describing them, for it is far better that SHAPE should have well-adjusted internal brakes than that it should crash into external obstacles.

As everybody knows, Viscount Montgomery is Deputy Supreme Commander. But many people have been wondering how in practice he would fit into SHAPE when after presiding over the Western Union forces he came to be number two of the NATO forces. There seemed more risk of friction than scope for his energy. It was hard to imagine him remaining a shadow in the background and merely carrying out odd jobs as occasion arose. But Eisenhower has found an effective solution of the problem by employing Montgomery as what might be called inspector-general of the Atlantic forces and empowering him to act as a "supercharger" in their training, development and mobilization. His task is to "forge the weapon." Instead of sitting in an office at SHAPE, he spends much of his time on tour. His visitations may not be relished in some of the countries, but there seems no doubt that "Monty" and "Ike" are teaming better than ever before.

On the lower levels of SHAPE it is evident that service in this supra-national body is attracting the best of the rising generation. Yet it tends to emphasize some unfortunate contrasts in the situation of the personnel. In our talks, Eisenhower and Gruenther both expressed much concern about the glaring differences in the pay-rates of the staff, which put a premium on the nationality of the individual instead of his efficiency.

They were still more worried about the general effect of the very low rates of pay in the fighting services of the various European member-countries of the Atlantic Alliance. Gruenther showed me the comparative pay-tables. It is obvious that unless the governments improve the rates it will hardly be possible to obtain the number of professional soldiers that are urgently needed now to form the forces for the defense of the West.

In SHAPE itself some of the contrasts I found were startling. In one room, where there were three officers of the same grade, the Englishman was getting nearly double the Frenchman's pay, and the American more than triple.

In another room, a French colonel was getting about the same pay as the young American servicewoman who was doing his secretarial work. I heard of one man who had resigned in protest against such differences. That there have not been a lot more is the best evidence of the harmony inside the organization and the sense of mission developed under Eisenhower's inspiration.

I came away with a strong impression that SHAPE is going well—inside. Much progress has been made in the planning of Europe's defense, helped by the preparatory work of the former Western Union staff.

But outside, in the national spheres, things are still going too slowly. It is becoming dubious whether the promised formation of new divisions and air groups for the defense of the West will keep up with the timetable. Production of equipment is lagging in a number of ways, while the accommodation of forces that are otherwise ready is being delayed because the basic necessities of their operation—which is collectively called 'infrastructure'—are not ready.

When one studies these extraneous difficulties it is easy to understand why Eisenhower has not only come to support the Pleven Plan for an integrated European Army, but is now urging the necessity of European federation, in place of a multiplicity of governments. For he pungently said: "If we drag out the job, we fail."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COLD WAR HITS THE SCHOOLS

by Harry Conn

HAVING FELT the biting sting of a genuine "grass-roots" protest, the Defense Production Administration is now frantically trying to scrape up more than the 96,000 tons of structural steel which it recently allotted for the construction of the nation's schools during the first quarter of 1952.

The DPA, the policy body, and its operating lower echelon, the National Production Administration, both under a former Buffalo, N. Y., attorney, Manly Fleischmann, are in the unenviable position of having to arrive at a cold and hard statistical breakdown on how much of a very limited critical material pie shall be cut for education and how much for guns.

Heavy structural steel is essential to large plant or building construction today. There is no substitute, with the exception of reinforced concrete in selected cases. The mobilization agencies have a total of 1.4 million tons to parcel out in the first quarter of next year, and the requests are exactly double that.

The US Office of Education applied for 192,000 tons from the DPA, a sum scaled down from 2,500 original requests from the communities for a total of 225,000 tons. The 96,000 tons actually allotted will not even meet the most critical needs for elementary-school construction, where the shortage of space is most pronounced.

For almost two decades there has been only limited construction of new schools. The depression of the 1930's and the war of the 1940's prevented normal building. And now, in the 1950's, the situation has reached the stage of a crisis. It has taken the six years since the end of World War II for the local communities to evaluate their public-school problem, float the bond issues and wade through the proverbial federal red tape to the stage where all that is needed is the structural steel to start construction.

"This is the time when contracts must be let," Dr. Rall Grisby, Deputy Commissioner of the US Office of Education, told the *New Republic*. "Construction started now will mean new schools next fall. And we face the problem of a 1.7 million increase in enrollments next year on top of the 1.8 million increase this year."

"This increase," Dr. Grisby explains, "is due to the general readjustments necessitated by the last war plus the reaction to the present defense effort. On top of this is the ever-expanding school-age population. The problem is on top of us now. It just cannot be deferred."

Harry Conn is a member of the staff of the Public Affairs Institute in Washington.

problem is on top of us now. It just cannot be deferred." Most severe is the elementary-school situation, but secondary schools and colleges are feeling the building shortage almost as strongly. Reaction to the allotment of only 96,000 tons of structural steel for schools has been widespread throughout the country. Congressmen report a heavy stream of letters, wires and telephone calls. This resulted in unanimous resolutions by both houses asking the DPA to reconsider. Rep. Thruston P. Morton (R, Ky.) told Fleischmann that while it may be true that every pressure group wants steel "the biggest lobby is the people, and they want schools."

Dr. Grisby suggests that the nation's public-school system "could live" if it were allotted 40,000 to 80,000 tons in addition to the 96,000. The original quota, according to Fleischmann, would allow for the construction of some 1,400 elementary and secondary schools and some 600 additional buildings for colleges, libraries, museums and so on.

Some well-meaning Congressmen, such as Rep. Cleveland Bailey (D, W. Va.) and Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R, Mass.) have complained bitterly about the continued high production of automobiles, refrigerators and other steel-requiring appliances while the schools go begging. They have failed to consider that these are sheet-steel products and have no affect on structural-steel production.

The structural-steel crisis stems largely from the fact that the US Steel Company and Bethlehem Steel are practically the only producers. And until recently a startlingly low priority was given to structural steel destined for the construction of additional structural-steel mills. This can be laid largely at the doorstep of Frank Creedon, DPA's Director of Building Construction. Creedon, it may be remembered, came under attack during World War II when, as an official of the War Production Board, he chose to allocate extremely scarce materials to race tracks, theatres and the like.

Last July, when the Controlled Materials Plan went into effect, the school crisis was accentuated. The CMP is the program, as reported previously in the *New Republic*, for controlling and channelling steel, copper and aluminum production. Until the last few months less than one-half of steel production was actually being controlled. Most of the steel flowed through normal business channels. Today all but a small percentage of structural-steel production is under the CMP, but much of the damage has been done.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Actually, all forms of steel production are at a high level. By 1952, it is expected that the production record established a decade ago will be equalled or passed. The critical situation is largely the lack of effective planning in recent years, and with the weapons of defense so badly needed, public requirements seem to be taking it on the chin. Hospitals are faring little better than schools, and highways are hard hit, too. No steel has yet been allocated for public housing next quarter.

The ability of the DPA and the NPA to deal adequately with the mass of requests for allocation of scarce materials has often been questioned. Decisions follow the line of local or of industrial pressures. For example, a number of textile firms have requested allocation of vast quantities of structural steel with which to construct new plants in the South. At the present time the cotton-textile industry is only operating at beween 70 and 80 percent of capacity, and many mills are standing idle. However, a flat turndown on all such requests would likely incur the wrath of both the mill owners and the Southern communities desiring the new plants. To ease their position, the NPA and the DPA are expected to approve some of this unnecessary building.

Other loopholes have been detected. Numerous complaints have been made about heavy steel being used in new stores, hotels, theatres and the like. Fleischmann admits that one and two-ton commercial users are still being allocated structural steel.

Officials of the mobilization agencies have little choice other than to find more structural steel for the schools. They undoubtedly will. There are still sufficiently large quantities not channelled through the defense effort which private industry can sacrifice; wiser administration of the allocation program can provide more. The 40,000 to 80,000 additional tons essential to our schools today may well prove stouter than the largest battleship, or even fleet of battleships, in defending this country and its principles.

THE ALIEN PROPERTY SCANDAL

by Jean Begeman

On October 16 Walter Winchell sent this flash to Mr. and Mrs. North America: "Did you know that there is a man so powerful that he can have a Peace Declaration between the United States and a major nation amended to include himself?" Incredible though it sounds, the Senate spent three precious days during the last week of the session debating a rider on the joint resolution to terminate the state of war between the US and Germany that would have permitted the I. G. Farben American representative, Ernest K. Halbach, and other citizens whose property was seized during the war by the Alien Property Custodian to sue the government for recovery of the property and additional compensation—an amendment that would have cost the government huge sums in endless litigation involving some $16 million worth of alien property.

We are now formally at peace with Germany. On October 18, the Senate passed the resolution without the rider. But we have not heard the last of Mr. Halbach and his Senate spokesmen, Alexander Wiley (R, Wis.) and William Langer (R, N. Dak.), who have already revealed that they will fight for a private bill in behalf of the German cartelist next session. The fact that the measure received the *unanimous approval* of the Foreign Relations Committee and came close to passage on the Senate floor indicates that many Congressmen who are loudest in the praises of free enterprise are willing to extend themselves to aid the greatest enemy of free enterprise—international cartels.

Ernest Halbach was president and chief stockholder of I. G. Farben's General Dyestuff Corporation with its sister corporation, General Aniline Film, was the largest asset handled by the Justice Department's Alien Property Division during the last war. In 1942, when the government seized the two Farben companies, Leo Crowley was Alien Property Custodian. He required Halbach to resign as President of Dyestuff and then appointed him to manage the company. Halbach brought suit for return of his 4,725 shares of stock but in 1945, shortly before trial, he agreed to a settlement of the suit under which he was paid $547,440 (or $118 per share). While the stock was actually worth much more, this settlement was considered fair since Halbach had bought his original shares for a total of $210,000. The Justice Department points out that between 1942 and 1945 he had received in salary, bonuses and adjustments $558,000. In a memorandum sent last month to Sen. Tom Connally and the Foreign Relations Committee, Deputy Attorney General Peyton Ford further revealed:

> On Halbach's retirement in August, 1950, though he was entitled to receive only $257 per month under the company's employe-retirement plan (and $45 per month under Social Security), the board of General Dyestuffs Corporation resolved to make a voluntary monthly payment to him sufficient to bring his total retirement pay to $1,500 *per month*.

Leo Crowley was the subject of tremendous criticism

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for his sympathetic handling of the I. G. Farben interests when he was Alien Property Custodian. While the government and American business generally urged that all patents belonging to Farben and other German properties seized during the war be opened to US corporations, Crowley refused, arguing that such a move would jeopardize the financial status of the giant German concerns. The patents have never been opened. When I. G. Farben's half interest in Winthrop Chemical Company was seized, Crowley permitted Sterling Products, the other half-owner, to buy the German shares, despite Sterling's Latin American supply scandal. He was from the beginning a warm friend of Halbach, utility magnate Victor Emmanuel and other cartel promoters. As a prominent Democrat, he was able to bring pressure in their behalf. Senator Wiley is one of Crowley's more recent friends. Crowley found in the Wisconsin Senator a sympathetic listener who represented a state with a large German-American population.

Early this year, Crowley visited Senator Wiley's office with his proposal to grant "relief" to Halbach. Wiley quotes Crowley as saying on that occasion, "I never was satisfied that we had on our side the law or the facts. I want to know, Senator, if you will introduce this amendment." Wiley, who is ranking minority member of the Foreign Relations Committee, agreed to take up Crowley's crusade.

The amendment, Crowley said, "would insure American citizens of their day in court in situations where their property was confiscated, during . . . war, under suspicion of accusation that the citizen represented or cloaked German interests. From my own experience of the atmosphere in which the Alien Property Custodian's office had to operate, I agree with this amendment, and urge its adoption." Wiley urged his Senate colleagues to take the former Custodian of Alien Property's words as fact since Crowley is "a man decorated by the Pope, a man so highly regarded that he is president of the Milwaukee Railroad, a man who feels that an injustice was done to American citizens. . . .

"If a Senator of the United States cannot heed the judgment voiced by an expert of Mr. Crowley's stature and voiced by other Senators, then the question is: Whose judgment can be heeded?"

Fortunately, the Senate chose to heed the judgment of Herbert Lehman (D, N.Y.) and Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.) who vigorously fought the amendment. They pointed out that the government has already handed Halbach $1 million—half in the settlement of his claim and half in salary in the years since the property was vested in the hands of our government—that the property was enemy property used to advance the interests of Nazi Germany, that the Kilgore investigation of German economic warfare had revealed that Halbach went to Italy in 1940 to confer with Farben officials on ways to avoid the British blockade, that such an amendment would cover a score of claims which have been settled in the same way. "Would the Finance Committee," asked Senator Lehman, "presume to attach an amendment to a tax bill opening up [tax claims] to further court review years after the claims have been settled? Of course not. That would result in chaos and anarchy."

The wholesale reopening of alien property claims today would not only cost the government tremendous sums but would also place it at an unfair disadvantage. Six years ago the cases were fresh in the minds of witnesses, many of whom were willing and anxious to testify against the German cartelists. The increase of pro-German feeling in recent years, and the even more important fact that many crucial witnesses have either left the jurisdiction or died, greatly hampers the government's case. An excellent example of this is brought out in another case which would have been reopened under the amendment. When the war broke out, Kurt Schmieder, a German citizen, turned over a portfolio of securities to his sister-in-law in Switzerland. Soon after, she became fearful of her part in this device to evade the foreign exchange laws. Schmieder then gave the portfolio to a secretary of Schmieder's New York lawyer. The government seized the $250,000 of securities on the ground that the secretary was merely cloaking the property on behalf of the Germans. She sued to recover the securities and was paid 50 percent of the seized property. (She then moved from a Brooklyn "walk-up" to a swanky apartment on Central Park South in New York.) If the case were reopened now, the government would have an even more difficult time. Schmieder's New York attorney is dead; Schmieder was imprisoned in the Russian Zone of Germany and is inaccessible; the lawyers who were familiar with the facts are no longer with the government; the evidence is, of course, not as available or fresh as it was at the time.

When Senator Wiley wrote his last "Weekly Newsletter" to constituents on the closing day of Congress, he mentioned his great battle against the "outrageous treatment of certain German-American citizens who were improperly induced to sell their property rights to the government at a fantastically low and inadequate figure. . . . The Senate, unfortunately, defeated the committee amendment this week, but it was reintroduced as a private bill. . . . The battle for justice will continue—*'Truth crushed to earth will rise again'.*" Senator Wiley, it should be noted, will direct our foreign policy as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee if the Republicans take Congress in 1952.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAROLD L. ICKES: *Not Guilty--You're Fired!*

THE CURTAIN has recently been rung down on the best burlesque of and by the US Senate that has ever been presented on any stage. It was the Senate that, at its own intellectual level, detonated a new type of atomic bomb in the form of a parody of itself so perfect that the entranced audience has not yet burst into peals of laughter accompanied by unrestrainable tears. It is to be expected that guffaw will soon follow guffaw in successive waves all the way across the country, leaving no smallest hamlet or isolated farmhouse unaware of the masterly manner in which, in attempting to deceive the people, the Senate has hoaxed itself.

For days, the name of Dr. Philip C. Jessup was before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for consideration as a delegate to the United Nations General Assembly. He had represented his country, both in this position and in others dealing with foreign affairs, with distinction and patriotic zeal. However, an American must do more these days than serve his country with distinction and patriotic zeal to be immune to venomous attacks by the most repulsive political cobra that has ever slithered its slimy way in and out of the dark and dank crannies of the Senate building. Joseph "Eructing MuckCarthy" had nothing to offer against Dr. Jessup except the vaporous and ghostly charge that Jessup had an "affinity for Communist causes." This from the vicious viper of Wisconsin is equivalent to an accolade.

This "weal, winegar and wenison make wery good wittles I wow" of "MuckCarthy's" is so far below his customary catch-as-catch-can "wituperation" that there can be no doubt that he needed help. And who else should rush to his assistance, while putting on his fireman's helmet, than the same Harold E. "McStassen" who can always be depended upon to ease himself into any vacant headline on any side of any cause? The intellectual pygmy who reflects no credit upon the University of Pennsylvania, whose presidency in some unexplained manner he annexed, testified voluntarily, if untruthfully, before the Senate subcommittee. "McStassen" offered as his "proof" an unrecorded conversation with a man, since deceased, about a highly confidential conference in February of 1949 at the White House. As has been well said by President Truman, "Jessup was attacked [by 'McStassen'] for being at a meeting which he did not attend and for policy recommendations which he never made." He did not say under oath, although it was so self-evident that it was not necessary, that one "McStassen" could not be trusted to keep an important confidence if he thought that it might be to his advantage to betray it. Perfidy is a pastime to "McStassen" when partisan politics is involved.

Of course, Senator Brewster of Maine was opposed to Jessup from the beginning. Brewster, at times, has gone pretty far afield in following the party line, but he could not lower himself to the depths that "McStassen" found to his taste. Nor did he have to. There were still two men on the subcommittee, Sens. Guy M. Gillette (D, Iowa) and H. Alexander Smith (R, N. J.), who were prepared to use a new but effective technique to keep Dr. Jessup at home when his country needed his services in Paris. In their duet, they repudiated "MuckCarthy's" invented charges against Jessup. They watched Harold "Elocutionist McStassen" whip his jaded steed past the judges' stand with amazement. Lacking his perverted imagination, they could not adopt his line. But they had another. Acclaiming Dr. Jessup as an honorable and upright man, free from any taint of Communism, who had performed fine services for his country, they nevertheless voted against him because he lacked the "confidence of the public."

In short, Jessup was not guilty; but he ought to be fired, doubtless as an inducement to other highly qualified and patriotic men to enter the federal service and continue there. Messrs. Smith and Gillette did not divulge how it was that they were persuaded that the "public lacked confidence" in Jessup. They simply said that it was so, thus establishing the vicious precedent that all a Senator needs to do hereafter is to stir up prejudice and charge a lack of "confidence," thus justifying the denial of confirmation.

Here is another bald and harmful invasion of executive powers by the legislature. But after all, if a lone Senator, capriciously, may nullify the President's power to appoint a federal judge, why may not those Senators who constitute the majority of a small subcommittee abrogate the constitutional right of the President to conduct international relations? In effect, in the first instance, the Senator usurps the right of the President to name a judge and, in the second, three Senators may squat upon the constitutional power of the President to conduct our foreign affairs. Although I deplore, and regard as mischievous, this further usurpation of executive power by the legislative branch, I deprecate the recess appointment by the President of Dr. Jessup and its acceptance by the latter.

HAROLD L. ICKES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE DOCUMENTED HISTORY OF CHINESE COMMUNISM

by Robert Payne

CHINESE COMMUNISM AND THE RISE OF MAO, by Benjamin I. Schwartz (Harvard University Press; $4).

THAT THE Chinese revolution consisted of a number of simultaneous revolutions occurring at different levels and pursuing different and sometimes contrary aims has been known for some time, but the complexities of the Chinese Communist rise to power, the development of the bitter theoretical disputes which plagued the party for twenty years, the history of the tensions which existed between the Kremlin and the Chinese Communist leaders, have never been sufficiently documented. Few scholars are well trained in the languages of the original sources; fewer still have the passion to investigate them. The data are to be found in the files of obscure newspapers printed in German, Russian, Chinese and Japanese, in the memoirs of ex-Communists, the bulletins of the Comintern and in so many out-of-the-way publications printed on hand presses in China that one might reasonably have thought that a great part of them was irretrievably lost. Fortunately both the Library of Congress and the Hoover War Memorial Library sent a number of missions to China for the purpose of acquiring these documents, and Benjamin I. Schwartz has plundered them to his heart's content. He has examined them, annotated them, arranged them in order, provided a running commentary and for the first time presented to the world a concise history of the emergence of the Chinese Communist Party from obscurity. It is a work for which we have every reason to be grateful, and it would be a pity if its academic dullness prevented its being widely read.

It should be said at once that Schwartz is not in the least concerned with riding a hobbyhorse. He shows no evidence of favoring or disfavoring the Chinese Communist leaders. In his book they become names, to which certain attitudes are attached. We learn no more about them than that they made certain statements and counter-statements or arrived at certain conclusions. They become counters in the desperate game of dialectical materialism, which is indeed what some of them considered themselves to be.

There are advantages in such a treatment. There are also inevitable disadvantages, for as they are described in this book, the quarrels of the leaders seem to take place in a perpetual vacuum. Messages come from the Castle. Statements are entered into the minutes of the meeting, and some of them are subtly altered when the minutes are read at the next meeting. Who altered them? We are never quite sure. Strange men, immersed in the works of Darwin, Bakunin and Marx, emerge to enjoy a brief fame as they pound the tables and declare the new law; then they disappear. There are extraordinary exhibitions of dialectical skill, quarrels on method, wild battles between those who favor proletarian uprisings and those who favor peasant uprisings: all these are related in the concise history, but the voices have a curious sameness. It is not entirely Schwartz's fault; the terminology of Communism is boring even when translated from Chinese.

In the course of his explorations the author has made some discoveries. He has read widely in the *New Youth*, the magazine edited by Chen Tu-hsiu, and he shows by what devious routes the early Chinese Communists arrived at their faith, and how the Leninist theory of imperialism, as understood by a poverty-stricken youth in Peking during the time of the Versailles Treaty, must have possessed an extraordinary validity. How else could one explain that Shantung was to be lopped from China by the treaty-makers and offered to the Japanese? We can now see, with the documents spread out before us, how nearly China became a Communist state in 1919. "Marxism," says Schwartz, "was carried into China in the wake of a messianic message and the concrete political program of Lenin." Significantly, he places the messianic message first.

When he comes to describe Stalin's concrete political program toward China, Schwartz has a field day. Here at least the documentation is voluminous. Unfortunately, much of it is special pleading, and Stalin's famous quarrel with Trotsky concerning the manipulation of the Chinese revolution tends to confuse the issues. It is impossible at this late date to assess the forces which were at work on the Chinese Communist Party in the summer of 1927, when it was being torn asunder by the Kuomintang and by the continually shifting maneuvers of the Kremlin, by the ambitions of the leaders who remained in hiding and by the disastrous decisions of the leaders who remained in exile in Moscow, but it is reasonably certain that Mao Tse-tung had achieved by this time a dominating position in the party. Surprisingly, Schwartz depicts Mao Tse-tung during this period as representing "a marginal exotic trend." It may be true. It depends upon what you mean by a "margin." As for the exoticism, this was proved by Mao's astonishing *Report on the Investigation of the Agrarian Movement in Hunan*, which appeared in the spring of 1927. It is characteristic of the author's method, and of his attitude to his material, that this report receives comparatively brief attention and that he makes no effort to evaluate that visionary and anarchic poem in praise of a peasant apocalypse. He has little to say about the influence of anarchism on the early development of the Chinese Communist Party, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in general he is less interested in the development of ideas than in cataloguing with amazing industry the positions of the various actors in the drama. In so doing he shows the extraordinary gullibility of some of the leaders when they held rigidly to their established positions long after their theoretical bases had vanished.

Those who believe that the Chinese Communists have been the obedient servants of the Kremlin receive scant support from Schwartz's study. He shows how Mao was continually at odds with official Comintern policy, and concludes that "Moscow's recognition of the Mao Tse-tung leadership was essentially in the nature of an acquiescence to a *fait accompli*."

It would be easy enough to quarrel with some of the minor theses in this book. Far too much significance, for example, is attached to John Dewey's visit to Peking in 1919; a reading of Dewey's own dithyrambic account of his journey should be sufficient to show how little he influenced the course of events. Reviewers who delight in pointing out errors in Chinese transliteration will no doubt note that Chou Fu-hai is misspelled on page 217. But these are not important matters. What is important is that we should be grateful that the work has been done, and done so well. It is certainly the best book on the Chinese Communists that has appeared since *Red Star over China.*

Robert Payne, who wrote, among other books, Forever China, Mao Tse-tung and Zero: The Story of Terrorism, is head of the English Department at Alabama College.

THE "NEW" FAULKNER

REQUIEM FOR A NUN, by William Faulkner (Random House; $3).

I HAVE two reasons for believing that *Requiem for a Nun* is not a major addition to the body of William Faulkner's work: (1) it adds no memorable character to the Faulkner gallery, and (2) it is totally implausible. On the other hand, for a couple of equally good reasons, this new book will always rate a nod from future Faulkner commentators. First: in form it is something new for the author, being a play within a novel, or, more exactly, an organic and (potentially) effective fusion of the two forms, a play-novel. Second: whatever it lacks, *Requiem* does contribute a double-barreled footnote to the immortal Yoknapatawpha saga; it is at once a recapitulation of Yoknapatawpha County's history, from Chickasaw signal fire to drugstore neon sign, and a sequel to the story of its best-known sinner, Temple Drake.

Yoknapatawpha, of course, is the mythical north Mississippi county which has been William Faulkner's stamping ground in better than a dozen interlocking novels. Of these, the most "popular" was *Sanctuary.* It told how wealthy co-ed Temple Drake went for a drive with drunkard Gowan Stevens and was captured by a passel of moonshiners, raped by a perverted gangster, loved by a night-club bouncer, and imprisoned in a Memphis sporting house. Thus Temple's first improbable bout with adversity.

Requiem describes the even more improbable return match. Six or eight years (take your choice; Faulkner does) have passed since Temple's Memphis ordeal. The remorseful Gowan has not only gone on the wagon but married Temple in spite of her shame. "Reformed" now, they live in Yoknapatawpha's county seat, belong to the right church and country club, and are the parents of a five-year-old boy and an infant child.

Disaster smites the little family anew when their Negro maid, Nancy Mannigoe, smothers the infant. Why? Well, it seems that Temple, fed up with being grateful to Gowan, had decided to run off with the blackmailing brother of the deceased bouncer of *Sanctuary.* Smothering the infant was Nancy's way of thwarting Temple's elopement, so that the surviving child would be spared the anguish of a broken home. Faulkner is justly famed for his uncanny ability to trace the dark turns and loops of human motivation, but not even he can prevent this tissue of implausibilities from seeming more grotesque than tragic.

Written entirely in dialogue, accompanied by stage directions, Temple's post-*Sanctuary* story forms a complete play in three acts. Their settings are, respectively, the Yoknapatawpha County courthouse, scene of Nancy's trial; the governor's office in the state capitol (where Temple, perceiving her own "guilt," vainly begs clemency for the murderess); and the county jail, as Nancy awaits execution.

FREE "THE AGE OF REASON"
By Thomas Paine

Write for your copy of Thomas Paine's masterwork, "The Age of Reason". 190 pages; complete and unexpurgated. No obligation on your part; sent free as part of an educational campaign, but please add 10c to cover cost of postage and handling.

THE THOMAS PAINE FOUNDATION
Dept. 48, 370 W. 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

Preceding each act is a history of the building in which it takes place. For each structure—courthouse, capitol, jail—symbolically mirrors the county's history. In telling about them, the author reverts to his customary narrative style, laden with parentheses, sub-parentheses, resourcefully punctuated 45-page sentences, and old Yoknapatawpha names like Sutpen and Sartoris.

For Faulkner, there is a mystic significance in the fact that the original log walls still stand, intact, beneath the jail's modern brick veneer. This symbolizes the "overlapping continuity" of life and the generations in the face of "the vain and glittering ephemerae of progress." Says lawyer-philosopher Gavin Stevens (familiar to readers of *Knight's Gambit* and *Intruder in the Dust*): "The past is never dead. It's not even past." And Faulkner adds, ". . . There is no time: no space: no distance. . . . " And Temple Drake chimes in: ". . . Past is something like a promissory note with a trick clause in it . . . which fate or luck or chance can foreclose on you without warning. . . . "

But what can a lady with an unlucky past, like Temple's, do to redeem her soul? Here doomed Nancy, seemingly the author's spokesman, replies to Temple: "Believe and suffer."

"Believe what?"

"Just believe."

And why suffer? Because maybe "the salvation of the world is in man's suffering."

Whether this cryptic moralizing means the same to Nancy as it does to you or me or Faulkner must remain the mootest of points until the author's next novel.

To me, at least, it seems to signal the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

emergence of a "new" and mellower Faulkner, who believes that "good must come out of evil," that people are "inherently gentle and compassionate and kind," and that his trigger-happy Southerners are not "vicious" after all; they just suffer from "over-revved glands." Can the Nobel Prize have tamed William Faulkner? RICHARD MATCH

THE REISCHMARSCHALL

THE RISE AND FALL OF HERMANN GOERING, by Willi Frischauer (Houghton Mifflin; $3.50).

FEW THINGS in history can have been more transient than the grandeur of the Nazi leaders. Once the world trembled at their nod; now their names are almost forgotten, even Hitler a shadowy figure of less interest than Mussolini. Perhaps the Nazi survivors will count for something again in Germany one day; perhaps legends, now concealed, will come to the surface, and the Nazi gangsters will end up as the heroes of German history. It seems unlikely: the Germans will prefer to shift their own guilt on to the men whom they once worshiped.

As the biographers work around to these discarded heroes, they will be puzzled as to which line to adopt. Should they restore them to their old place and make a bid for them as martyrs? Or should they keep up the abuse which has made things so easy and agreeable for all those Germans who dodged responsibility at the critical moment? An occasional biographer will even escape the dilemma by having a shot at telling the story as it really was. Willi Frischauer is one of these. His life of Goering is an honest book, written by an enemy of the Nazis, but without jibes or invective, and bringing out the better qualities of Goering's character so far as he had them. One could dispute whether the lives of these scoundrels should be written at all; if it is to be done, this book of Frischauer's is the way to do it. He has taken the trouble to interview plenty of people and has even made a few discoveries. For instance, he found out that Goering slipped over to London for the coronation of George VI in 1937 and had to be smuggled away again. Sometimes he guesses a little too confidently, as when he asserts that both Goering and Dimitrov knew the Reichstag-fire trial to be a sham affair—Hitler had arranged to trade Dimitrov to the Russians all along. But on the whole his narrative keeps steadily to the historical facts, though without an elaborate parade of scholarship.

Of course Goering is the easiest of the Nazi leaders to present in this straightforward way. He had no complicated philosophy of life and no secret vices; he was an adventurer, a scoundrel and a braggart, as anyone could see at a glance. He bullied his way to power, stamped on opponents and looted all Europe for his artistic pleasure. On the other hand, he had genuine courage and was warmhearted in his personal relations. In short, a German Peter Pan: a greedy, darling boy who never grew up or acquired any moral principles. Most boys have daydreams of infinite power; it was Goering's misfortune that his dreams came true. At the end he said, like Peter Pan: "to die will be an awfully big adventure," and he played out his part in a mood of boyish heroism. All the great figures of Nazi Germany were assembled before the International Tribunal at Nuremberg. Goering was the only one who displayed any courage and conducted himself with dignity. For this he will perhaps get a footnote in the history books. A. J. P. TAYLOR

POLICE-STATE ECONOMICS

RUSSIA'S SOVIET ECONOMY, by Harry Schwartz (Prentice-Hall; $6.65).

HARRY SCHWARTZ, a professor of Economics and former OSS specialist on the Soviets, has successfully put into this massive book just about all there is to know of the current economic situation in Stalin's Russia. The task demanded extraordinary patience and the ability to read, weigh and sift the output of hundreds of Soviet newspapers, journals and provincial gazettes as well as a balanced fact-gathering sense that is all too rare in studies of Russian events. He has done an admirable job.

After several introductory chapters, which provide an excellent summary of historical and ideological sources, Schwartz examines in some detail the economic aspects of the Soviet system, and his study of Russian industry, agriculture, transportation, trade and banking is extremely knowledgeable.

The author does not deny the industrial progress of the Soviets. His carefully compiled statistics demonstrate a real growth in steel, chemicals, machinery and coal. But pervading the intense human activity that lies behind these facts is the spectre of the total state. Bureaucratic manipulations in which human beings become ciphers are the instruments through which the regime attains its goals. At the center of these co-ordinating and centralizing efforts, which have always assumed the character of urgent political drives, stands the Party, and at the center of the Party is the Politburo, employing the coercive strength of a police state to help it mold a society as it pleases.

The economic power of Soviet Russia, Schwartz notes, was achieved by an astonishing limitation of consumption and by devoting an inordinately high proportion of the national income to investment goods. This was the basic approach both before and after World War II. Soviet apologists excuse this stringent policy on the grounds of military need and point to the experience of the last war to substantiate their views. But Schwartz shows that Russia's major western industrial areas were quickly eliminated by the Nazis in 1941 and 1942 and that they contributed little to final victory.

The ultimate test of the efficiency of any economic system rests in what it does to provide the average man with bread, meat, shirts, shoes and a home. By all the criteria that this implies, the Soviet Union has been a failure. Schwartz shows that, while money wages in Russia increased tenfold between 1928 and 1948, the cost of food and clothing went up by considerably more. As for housing, the situation does not appear to be improving markedly.

The consumer is the forgotten man in the Soviet economy. The emphasis on grain products in the diet and the minimal quantities of meat and fish, says Schwartz, indicate the low living standards enforced by the Stalinist regime. Nor is there any reason to believe that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the supply of durable consumer goods has gone up, for much of the purported increase reflects but a nominal shift from artisan to factory production. The fact of the matter is that the Soviets place so great a premium on progress in the heavy industries that managers of consumer-goods plants are not interested in improving quality and output. The result is the creation of a gigantic black market which more and more absorbs the energies of the Russian housewife. The reader leaves this book with an overwhelming impression of a perpetual and deliberate attempt to evade government regulation.

Filled as it is with statistics and documentation, Schwartz's study can be heavy going at times. But it is the one work on Russia today that, perhaps more than any other published in recent years, will fully repay the reader.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

MUSIC

Opera in English

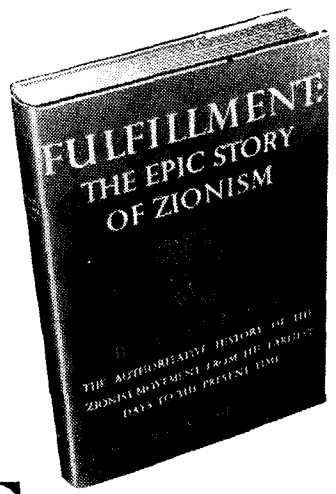
As its latest novelty, the New York City Opera Company has dug up a 45-year-old farce, *I Quattro Rusteghi* (billed as *The Four Ruffians*, although Laszlo Halasz, the director of the company, wanted it to be called *The Four Gruffians*), composed by Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari, whose *Jewels of the Madonna* and *Secret of Suzanne* used to hold the boards a generation ago. A bright and craftsmanlike setting of a Goldoni play to airs and ensembles suggesting both Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro* and Verdi's *Falstaff*, the opera chronicles a minor skirmish in the war between the sexes, in which four scheming and strong-willed women are pitted against four singularly disagreeable basses. The première at the City Center profited from the singing of an eager, youthful cast; the experienced stage direction of the veteran Otto Erhardt, borrowed for the occasion from La Scala in Milan and the Teatro Colon in Buenos Aires; and the ingratiating musicianship of Halasz.

If *The Four Ruffians* had been given in Italian rather than in English, it probably would have been a failure at the City Center. Gluttons for culture that we are, we are willing to sit through *Tristan* or *Otello* without understanding a word of the German or Italian text. These operas are masterpieces, and we know our duty toward masterpieces; moreover, the music is absorbing enough to hold our attention by itself, even if it was never intended to. Our foreign-language repertory, for this reason, consists wholly of masterpieces, since they alone can stand the absurd and unfair test of being listened to as though they were symphonic music. Wolf-Ferrari, being no more than a *petit maître*, needs all the assistance his libretto can give him. As a composite of music, dialogue and intelligible action, *The Four Ruffians* is charming.

This year more operas than ever before will be given in English by the two New York companies. Each has four in its repertory. The City Center offers, in addition to *The Four Ruffians*, Prokofiev's *Love for Three Oranges*, Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro*, and Dimitri Tamkin's *The Dybbuk*, which was written in English. The Metropolitan will use English translations for Mozart's *Magic Flute*, Strauss's *Fledermaus*, Puccini's *Gianni Schicchi* and Gluck's *Alcestis*. The last of these, to be done in an adaptation by John Gutman of the Metropolitan's administrative staff, is something of an accident; Kirsten Flagstad, who is to sing the title role, does not sing in French, and demanded that the opera be given in English.

The City Center has no business using any language but English. It is a people's opera, catering to an audience unacquainted with the traditions of foreign-language operatic presentation. With the Metropolitan, the case may be somewhat different. Its casts are international collections of artists presumed to be the best available anywhere. Many of them either cannot sing in English or sound laughable when they try to. Unless the Metropolitan dismisses most of its European singers, it will have to continue indefinitely to present its repertory in the languages its polyglot

The most wonderful homecoming in history



FULFILLMENT

The Epic Story of Zionism

by RUFUS LEARSI

author of *Israel: A History of the Jewish People*

November 30, 1947: thousands of displaced Jews marched in jubilant procession under Rome's famous Arch of Titus, erected in 70 A.D. to celebrate the very downfall of the Kingdom of Judea. Now the UN had finally voted to establish an independent Jewish state in Palestine—and an ancient people had survived to a vindication of faith and hope such as mankind had never seen. This is the full history of the return of the Jewish people to their homeland—of all the men and women of giant mold and vision who only fifty years ago launched and nurtured the daring and quixotic Zionist movement. Rufus Learsi's complete history of Zionism will thrill you—as all people are thrilled by bitter-earned victory, when the dangerous years melt away and become "as yesterday when it is past and as a watch in the night." 416 pages, illustrated. *$5.00 wherever books are sold*

The World Publishing Company
Cleveland and New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

company can handle, though its American contingent is large enough to permit the casting of a good many English-language performances.

Purists argue that opera is best in the original language, because translating the libretto upsets the ideal marriage of text and music. No doubt it does, in some measure; but that hardly seems a valid reason for keeping nearly the whole audience in the dark. Stockholm audiences find nothing odd in Swedish performances of *Carmen* and *Traviata*. And I must say I enjoyed the English-language performances I heard at Covent Garden and Sadler's Wells in London, except when the translations were maladroit.

It is, of course, a hard job to make a successful English adaptation of a libretto. The translator of a non-musical drama has a relatively easy time of it, for his work is done when he has made a smooth, playable text that retains a reasonable portion of the sense and tone of the original. The libretto translator must find words that will fit the rigid note values, accents and inflections of a pre-existing musical score, and he must provide the singers with arrangements of vowels and consonants that enable them to produce good tones and to maintain an uninterrupted lyric line.

The best English adaptation in existence is Oscar Hammerstein II's book for *Carmen Jones*, which follows closely both the sense and the sound of the French original, yet sounds fresh and spontaneous. I have always hoped that Hammerstein would some day be persuaded to make an English libretto for *Carmen* without the *Jones* variant. The Howard Dietz-Garson Kanin *Fledermaus* book is also extremely deft, if intentionally Broadwayish in texture. The Mozart translations Ruth and Thomas Martin have made for the Metropolitan and the City Center—*The Magic Flute* and *The Marriage of Figaro*—are apt and workable. Gutman's free treatment of Haydn's *The Man in the Moon*, for the lamented Lemonade Opera, was masterly.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. No translated opera has ever scared away customers who would have come to hear it in a foreign language, and several operas have improved greatly at the box office after they were put into English.

CECIL SMITH

MOVIES

Good Intentions

PERIODICALLY the cry has gone up that the screen, that parvenu, is fattening itself in selfish greed, unconcerned with the social responsibilities incumbent upon wealth and community influence. But you hear the charge less frequently now, partly because it is generally believed that the Hollywood lode is running thin, partly because producers today give a creditable share of their attention to the vexations of a world outside the studios. It is no longer sufficient for applause that a movie should bite into tough reality; we demand that it should chew the mouthful to some purpose. For example, three of the fall pictures display what are generally agreed to be significant themes, but the only one that succeeds as a picture, that isn't overcome by the solemnity of its message, is *The Mob*, an unabashed melodrama that has no more real social purpose than a roller coaster.

The Whistle at Eaton Falls, Louis de Rochemont's study of American labor relations, falls into place well behind *Lost Boundaries*, his earlier study of the tragic institution of "passing." It is not clear whether de Rochemont was intimidated by the implications of his subject or whether, as is more likely, he had difficulty in devising a situation that would fairly represent all sides of the question. At any rate, the story he has chosen is untypical and fortuitous; it throws no light on the subject and dramatically it never gets off the ground.

A small New England plastics factory discovers one day that it must either modernize its plant and fire half its employees or be forced to the wall by more efficient competition. At this critical moment, the owner of the company dies and his widow (Dorothy Gish) appoints the local union organizer (Lloyd Bridges) as the new president. Faced with the almost hopeless task of both living up to the union contract he himself wrote and staying in business, Bridges casts about wildly. He discovers a solution in a piece of Yankee gadgetry that, at the eleventh hour, permits him to undersell the field, put his factory on three shifts and offer employment to every able-bodied man and woman in town. Triumphant toots from the good old factory whistle.

Prior to this fortunate turn of affairs, Bridges' life has been made miserable by some bad men in the union who engage in what looks very much like "foreign agitation" and by some equally bad men in business suits who stoop to various provocative acts designed to crush him and discredit his former union. Only the good sense and high principle of the "decent element" in both groups save the situation from disaster. Thus, what *Eaton Falls* has to say in the end is that virtuous men can be expected to behave virtuously but that all kinds of wickedness may be anticipated from the wicked. Also that a better mousetrap is a wonderful cure for unemployment. Walter Reuther and John L. Lewis might agree that, while all this is unquestionably true, it is too simple an approach to the subject.

As in his previous pictures, de Rochemont and his director, Robert Siodmak, have shot *Eaton Falls* as a pseudo-documentary. The real sets and the real townspeople produce a credibility that in this case is largely wasted.

In the second example, *The Well*, a new trio (Russell Rouse, Clarence Green and Leo Popkin) has written, produced and directed an excellently motivated and, at moments, effective picture that never makes up its mind what it is trying to be. One-half of it is the report of a race riot; the balance is documentation of a skillfully engineered rescue operation. Both episodes have merit, but the producers would have achieved more artistic results if they had told one story at a time. I understand that this double exposure is supposed to show that there are good and bad in all of us, but the Jekyll and Hyde transformation of the cast is more naive than convincing.

The race-riot half of the picture (a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

little Negro girl has disappeared and it is thought that a white man has abducted her) is an effective description of how mob insanity explodes when tension reaches the flash point. But the community described is one where race hatred has never been a problem and the picture must kindle a good many arbitrary little fires before the violence flares up. The acting and direction of these vignettes of rumor, malice and brainless sensationalism are stilted and self-conscious, as though no one concerned believed that mass murder really can spring from such mean and trivial sources.

The engineering sequel to the riot (it is discovered finally that the little girl has fallen down an abandoned well) is a montage of massive machinery and agile men that looks as though it might have been influenced by Flaherty's *Louisiana Story*. The pumps and drills pound on in a kind of mesmeric dream that holds suspense paralyzed, the editing is paced to a rising staccato of fragmentary shots that at last bursts into the agonizingly slow climax of the moment of rescue. Technically and dramatically, this half of the picture is far superior to its predecessor (though only optimists would be convinced by the happy ending). Richard Rober, the sheriff who defies the mob and directs the rescue, plays with colorless competence. Henry Morgan, as the supposed kidnaper and eventual hero of the rescue, is a small, bitter man who displays a baleful courage that gives the picture some of its best moments.

The Mob cares not a fig for the social problem (New York's waterfront rackets) on which it is based. It is a howling gun drama cut to a tested pattern and polished for every possible glitter of excitement. The dialogue is sharp, idiomatic, occasionally witty, and the cast, headed by Broderick Crawford, is completely at home in this wild and wooly entertainment. *The Mob* may be a regrettably frivolous picture, but its cynical expertness is a happy relief from the half-gestures and tentative conclusions of the two moralities.

ROBERT HATCH

The Week: (*Continued from page 8*)

FOUND—ACHESON'S COURAGE

After a series of ignominious retreats before the McCarthy onslaught, the State Department has finally found courage to fight back with more than innuendos. Just before he left for Paris, Secretary Dean Acheson addressed his sensitive staff in an accent which had the common touch. McCarthyism, he said, was a "racket." "What," he asked, "is our attitude toward that sort of criticism? We need not regard it as even decent expressions of American public opinion . . . we need have no patience with untrue attacks on the personal character and devotion of any among us."

Acheson's fighting mood was backed up by President Truman's defiance of Congress in giving Philip Jessup a recess appointment as a delegate to the UN Assembly and the added public support the department has received since the telecasting of the San Francisco treaty-signing conference. On October 21, Acheson went back on television to answer questions from a sailor, a housewife, a carpenter and a sheriff. McCarthyism was not specifically unmasked before that audience, but it was attacked full-blast a few days later by Conrad Snow, the New Hampshire Republican who heads the State Department's Loyalty Board. Far from contributing "a single item of new evidence," said Snow, all McCarthy has done is to "raise a lot of dust around the country."

The October issue of the Foreign Service *Journal* also went to work on McCarthy and his colleague, Sen. Pat McCarran. It prints an exposé by John S. Service of the way McCarran's hirelings on the Internal Security Committee pasted together selected sentences from Service's seven-year-old reports in an attempt to have his former chief, General Wedemeyer, declare him "disloyal." (*NR*, October 1) Service, who is now about to go up for his *n*th Loyalty Board hearing, felt confident enough to blast McCarran's "investigative technique" and to accuse his "research director," ex-Communist Benjamin Mandel, of editing his reports as the "exact opposite of the meaning of my whole memorandum."

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

BOOKS

ATHEIST BOOKS, 32-page catalogue free. Truth Seeker Co., 88 Park Row, N. Y. C. 8.

LITERARY SERVICES

AUTHORS! Sales department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet. Write to-day! Mead Literary Agency, 419 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y. (Or. 9-1150).

BALI PRIMITIVE

SCULPTED "DJANGER" HEAD: sandalwood: 3" high: $3.50 prepaid, no C.O.D.: Knot Hole, Commercial Street, Provincetown, Mass. Dept. A.

ORANGES AND GRAPEFRUIT

TOP GRADE, TREE RIPENED, INDIAN RIVER GRAPEFRUIT AND ORANGES, freshly picked, tastefully packed. Grand for eating, juice, gifts. Guaranteed. Express prepaid. Bushel $6.50. Half bushel $4.50. (East of Miss.)
James H. Hart,
Island Groves, Route 2, Cocoa, Florida.

NON-OBJECTIVE ASHTRAYS

CERAMIC: by Barbara Ladd: choice green, blue, tan: 5": $4.00 prepaid, no C.O.D.: Knot Hole, Commercial Street, Provincetown, Mass. Dept. A.

PERSONAL

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.' *Write for booklet, or phone*
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. N.R., 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033

New Republic

One-Year Subscription Rates by Air and First-Class Mail to

OVERSEAS COUNTRIES

Let the NEW REPUBLIC carry the fight against inaction and reaction across the seas. There must be someone you know in a foreign country who would delight in receiving by airmail the magazine that is read and depended upon by thousands of distinguished Americans. If you are going abroad or live abroad you can receive your copy of the New Republic at these fast delivery rates.

AIR MAIL

Subscription rates:
$46.00 to: British Isles; Europe.
71.00 to: Near East; Australia; India; South Africa; Japan; Hong Kong.
33.00 to: B.W.I.; South America.

FIRST-CLASS MAIL

$13.00 to: British Isles; B.W.I.; Europe (except Spain); Near East; Australia; India; South Africa; Japan; Hong Kong.
12:00 to: Mexico; Canada; Hawaii; Puerto Rico; Alaska; Spain; South America.

The NEW REPUBLIC
CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our New Robber Barons:

THE TAX THIEVES of 1951

The *New Republic*, in a series of articles beginning next week, uncovers the trail of the *little crooks* and the *big manipulators* who have robbed the nation's treasury.

In successive stories, *New Republic* staff writers and leading reporters from San Francisco, St. Louis, New York and Boston will tell how political grafters have undermined the public confidence in our revenue system.

It is the full and yet unrevealed story of how politicians have combined with gangsters and greedy profiteers to become the latest threat to democratic government. For the facts about what is basically wrong with our tax-gathering machinery and what can be done to set it right, read this *New Republic* series.

The hidden story of the taint in taxes will begin in the *New Republic's* next issue. Subscribe today.

Armed Service Order Form

THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49 Street • New York 17, N. Y.

For the enclosed $4.00 please enter an annual subscription in my name at the special Armed Services rate of $4.00.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

IN FULL_____

_____ 11-5-51

Regular Order Form

THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49 Street • New York 17, N. Y.

For the enclosed $6.50 please enter an annual subscription in my name. (Foreign or Canadian postage $1.00 extra.)

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____

ZONE_____ STATE_____ 11-5-51

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED